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Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 OMB-01 NIC-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15 RSR-01 /128 W
---------- 129318
R 030931Z AUG 73
FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2074
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL LUANDA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV PINT MZ
SUBJ: DEPARTURE FROM MOZAMBIQUE OF COMMANDING GENERAL KAULZA
DE ARRIAGA: BRIEF APPRAISAL

1. SUMMARY: PRELIMINARY APPRAISAL OF GENERAL KAULZA DE ARRIAGA'S PERFORMANCE AS COMMANDING GENERAL INDICATES THAT HE WAS SUCCESSFUL IN IMPROVING SECURITY SITUATION IN TWO MAIN WAR SECTORS, BUT HAD NOT FOUND WAY TO STEM FRELIMO ACTIVITY IN THE THIRD (TETE/VILA PERY/BEIRA). HE HAD CONVINCING PERSONAL QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP AND HIS CONCEPT OF OVERALL STRATEGY WAS SOUND. IN PROTECTING CABORA BASSA DAM, PUSHING THROUGH ALDEAMENTO PROGRAM AND AFRICANIZING MAJORITY OF TROOPS, AS WELL AS IN HIS EMPHASIS ON SOUND PUBLIC RELATIONS AND COMMITMENT TO CONCEPT THAT WAR CAN ONLY
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BE WON WITH SUPPORT OF AFRICAN POPULACE, HE HELPED IMPROVE

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PORTUGAL'S IMAGE IN EYES OF SOME OBSERVERS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON AUGUST 1 AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS OF UNENDING FAREWELL FUNCTIONS, DINNERS AND CEREMONIES, COMMANDING GENERAL KAULZA DE ARRIAGA AND FAMILY LEFT LOURENCO MARQUES. GOVERNOR GENERAL PIMENTEL DOS SANTOS, LARGE GROUP OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OFFICIALS PLUS HONOR GUARD WERE AT AIRPORT FOR WARM LEAVE-TAKING. GENERAL DE ARRIAGA MADE BRIEF EMOTIONAL FAREWELL STATEMENT. CEREMONY CONCLUDED WITH EXCHANGE OF COMPLIMENTARY TELEGRAMS BETWEEN GENERAL DE ARRIAGA AND GOVERNOR GENERAL SENT TO AND FROM THE DEPARTING PLANE IN FLIGHT.

3. NEW COMMANDING GENERAL TOMAS JOSE BASTO MACHADO ARRIVED IN LOURENCO MARQUES AUGUST 2 WHERE HE WAS MET BY SIMILAR GROUP OF LUMINARIES.

4. COMMENT: WHILE TOO EARLY FOR DEFINITIVE JUDGMENT ON GENERAL DE ARRIAGA'S PERFORMANCE DURING HIS FOUR YEAR STEWARD-SHIP IN MOZAMBIQUE, SOME WORDS OF PRELIMINARY APPRAISAL CAN BE HAZARDED. DE ARRIAGA'S DEPARTURE HAS BEEN IN THE WIND FOR MONTHS, PROBABLY SINCE LAST DECEMBER. UNFORTUNATE COIN-CIDENCE OF HIS ACTUAL LEAVING WITH PROPANGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST ALLEGED "MASSACRES" COMMITTED BY PORTUGUESE ARMED FORCES, AND WITH RECENT FRELIMO SUCCESS IN EXTENDING ACTIVITIES INTO VILA PERY AND BEIRA DISTRICTS, HAS LED TO INEVITABLE RUMORS OF DISSATISFACTION IN LISBON, THAT HE WAS GIVEN THE SACK, ETC., ETC. HE HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING TOO SOFT BY SOME AND BY OTHERS OF COUNTENANCING ATTROCITIES. FROM MY OWN OBSERVATIONS, HOWEVER, AND FROM COMPARING NOTES WITH OTHER ON-THE-SPOT OBSERVERS, I BELIEVE HISTORY WILL TAKE A RELATIVELY KIND VIEW OF HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

5. COMPARING INSURGENCY SITUATION TODAY WITH THAT IN LATE SIXTIES AND AT BEGINNING OF DE ARRIAGA'S COMMAND, SEVERAL THINGS ARE APPARENT: SITUATION IN NIASSA DISTRICT, WHICH WAS MOST SERIOUS OF ALL AREAS LATE SIXTIES WITH WELL ARMED FRELIMO INSURGENTS ROAMING AT WILL THROUGH COUNTRYSIDE FROM TANZANIAN BORDER TO 14 DEGREES SOUTH LATITUDE AND 36 DEGREES EAST LONGITUDE (SEE LOURENCO MARQUES TEL NO. 27 OF AUGUST 10, 1966) HAS IF NOT CLEARED UP ENTIRELY, BECOME VERY MUCH LESS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTENSE WITH FRELIMO PRETTY MUCH BOTTLED UP IN SMALL ISOLATED AREAS OF JECI HILLS, ONLY VENTURING FORTH FOR OCCASIONAL MINE LAYINGS AND AMBUSHES ON DIRT ROADS. CABO DELGADO DISTRICT USED TO BE HONEYCOMBED WITH PERMANENT FRELIMO BASES. DE ARRIAGA'S OPERATION GORDIAN KNOT WIPED OUT MOST OF THESE BASES, AND EXCEPT FOR PORTIONS OF MACONDE PLATEAU, FRELIMO MUST NOW CARRY OUT BULK OF ACTIONS FROM ACROSS TANZANIAN BORDER OR FROM TEMPORARY ENCAMPMENTS IN SPARSELY INHABITED AREAS.

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ON DEBIT SIDE OF LEDGER IS THE UNDISPUTED FACT THAT GUERRILLA WARFARE CONTINUES UNABATED IN TETE DISTRICT AND HAS SPREAD WELL INTO VILA PERY AND BEIRA DISTRICTS, WHERE PROTECTIVE MEASURES DE ARRIAGA HAS SET INTO MOTION HAVE NOT YET BECOME FULLY EFFECTIVE. HOWEVER, FRELIMO ACTION THUS FAR HAS BEEN SPORADIC, CARRIED OUT BY SMALL, WIDELY SCATTERED, HIGHLY MOBILE BANDS WITH NO KNOWN FIXED BASES AND FRELIMO STILL DOES NOT CONTROL (IN THE SENSE OF EXERCISING PERMANENT GOVERNING FUNCTIONS) ANY TERRITORY IN THIS AREA.

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6. GENERAL DE ARRIAGA WILL POSSIBLY BE REMEMBERED MOST FAVORABLY FOR A) HIS SUCCESS IN PROTECTING CABORA BASSA DAM, CONSTRUCTION OF WHICH HAS PROCEEDED ON SCHEDULE WITHOUT ANY SIGNIFICANT DELAY IN SUPPLY FLOWS; B) ALDEAMENTO PROGRAM IN WHICH APPROXIMATELY ONE MILLION PEOPLE HAVE BEEN RESETTLED INTO NEW VILLAGES WHERE THEY CAN MORE EASILY BE PROTECTED

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AGAINST FRELIMO INTIMIDATIONS. THE ACCOMPANYING REFORMS IN EDUCATION AND AGRICULTURAL METHODS ARE BOUND TO HAVE FAR REACHING POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS THROUGHOUT MOZAMBIQUE; C) SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARDS AFRICANIZATION OF ARMED FORCES OF WHICH BLACK AFRICAN NOW MAKE UP MAJORITY. THESE REGULAR TROOPS PLUS ESTIMATED EQUAL NUMBER OF ARMED MILITIA, POLICE AND RURAL GUARDS CONSTITUTE IMPORTANT POTENTIAL POWER BASE. D) HIS COMMITMENT TO CONCEPT THAT WAR CAN BE WON ONLY BY GAINING AND RETAINING SUPPORT OF POPULACE.
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UM DE ARRIAGA BROUGHT A STRONG PERSONALITY, ENERGY, DEDICATION, SOPHISTICATED INTELLECT AND SHREWD SENSE OF OVERALL STRATEGY TO THE JOB. HIS INTERPRETATION OF STRATEGIC GEOPOLITICAL FORCES AT PLAY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS DOMINATED PORTUGUESE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN THINKING. HE SEEMED POPULAR WITH TROOPS OF ALL RANKS AND RACES, MINGLING WITH THEM IN RELAXED, GOOD HUMORED FASHION WITHOUT UNDUE FANFARE OR FORMALITY.

8. MY MOST SERIOUS CRITICISM IS NOT SO MUCH A REFLECTION ON DE ARRIAGA HIMSELF AS ON PORTUGUESE PASSION FOR POMP AND CEREMONY WHICH HE ALONG WITH OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS MUST COME TO TERMS WITH. THESE DEMAND THAT TOP MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS SPEND AN INORDINATE AMOUNT OF TIME ATTENDING INNUMERABLE DINNERS, DEDICATIONS, ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF VIPS AT AIRPORTS, MILITARY PARADES, ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS, AND SO ON, WHICH CANNOT HELP BUT EAT INTO THEIR OPERATIONAL AND SUBSTANTIVE WORK. OTHER SIDE OF THIS COIN IS FACT THAT DE ARRIAGA, WITH HIS HIGHLY DEVELOPED FEEL FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS, HAS BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN ANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS OR MILITARY COLLEAGUES (EXCEPT PERHAPS FOR GENERAL SPINOLA IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA) IN GETTING THE PORTUGUESE POINT OF VIEW INTO THE PUBLIC SPHERE, THROUGH BRIEFINGS OF VIP VISITORS, FREQUENT SPEECHES, PRESS ARTICLES, AND BOOKS. DESPITE CONTINUED SUCCESS OF FRELIMO PROPAGANDA IN WINNING SUPPORT FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, DE ARRIAGA'S OPENNESS HAS PERSUADED AN INCREASING NUMBER OF OBSERVERS TO TAKE A MORE FAVORABLE VIEW OF PORTUGAL'S AIMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS.
VAN OSS

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